

## Message Text

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ACTION EB-07

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 CAB-02 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00

DOT-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 FAA-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01

SP-02 L-03 SS-15 NSC-05 /056 W  
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P R 101020Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1495

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLUL HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 9285

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TW, CH, JA, ETRN

SUBJECT: RESTORATION OF JAPAN-TAIWAN AIRLINK

REF: TOKYO 9122

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUMMARY: INITIAL JAPANESE REACTION TO AGREEMENT TO RESTORE AIRLINK WITH TAIWAN BROKE ALONG PREDICTABLE LINES, WELCOMED BY MUCH OF THE LDP AND OTHER CONSERVATIVES AND CONDEMNED AS VIOLATION OF '72 COMMUNIQUE BY JSP, JCP AND JAPAN CHINA FRIENDSHIP CHAIRMAN LIAO CHENG-CHIH IN PEKING. FONOFF IS ON DEFENSIVE EMPHASIZING THAT AGREEMENT IS "PRIVATE" AND WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF '72 COMMUNIQUE. GOJ HOPES WILL PAS AND THEN, MORE PROTECTED ON DOMESTIC RIGHT, MIKI CAN TRY TO MAKE PROGRESS WITH PEKING ON PEACE TREATY. END SUMMARY.

1. INITIAL REACTION TO AGREEMENT TO RESTORE JAPAN-TAIWAN AIRLINK FOLLOWED EXPECTED PARTISAN LINES. LDP GENERALLY WELCOMED THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRO-TAIWAN GROUP LED BY HIROKICHI NADAO, ALSO LDP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN, ISSUED STATEMENT WELCOMING CONFIDENTIAL

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EVENT AS "SYMBOL OF TOKYO-TAIPEI RELATIONS". PRO-TAIWAN LDP COMMENTATORS SAW AGREEMENT AS RESULT OF UPGRADING OF INTER-CHANGE OFFICE LAST AUTUMN TO AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL (NAMING RETIRED AMB URABE TO TAIPEI, AND TAIWAN'S GROWING ISOLATION IN POST-

VIETNAM ERA AS MAJOR FACTORS IN COMPROMISE. CONSERVATIVE SANKEI AND TOKYO SHIMBUN SHARED LDP VIEWS, WITH LATTER STRESSING THAT THE DEVELOPMENT SHOULD NOT IN ANY WAY ALTER JAPAN'S COMMITMENTS TO CHINA AS EXPRESSED IN '72 COMMUNIQUE.

2. ANXIETY AND DISAPPROVAL WERE ALSO EXPRESSED IN VARIOUS QUARTERS, RANGING FROM EXPRESSIONS OF FEAR IN BUREAUCRACY AND IN SOME QUARTERS OF LDP THAT MOVE COULD FURTHER FEED PEKING'S DOUBTS ABOUT MIKE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRC. THE DSP WELCOMED THE AGREEMENT "WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF '72 JOINT COMMUNIQUE", BUT KOMEITO, NO-COMMITALLY, WONDERED WHETHER FORMER FONMIN OHIRA'S STATEMENT HAD BEEN ABANDONED. JSP AND JCP OPENLY CHARGED, AS DID JAPAN CHINA FRIENDSHIP CHAIRMAN LIAL CHENG CHIH THAN FONMIN MIYAZAWA'S STATEMENT "TRAMPLED ON ONE CHINA IDEA".

3. IN DINNER TABLE COMMENTS IN PEKING TO NIHON KEIZAI PRESIDENT JIRO ENJOJI, LIAO CHENG-CHIH'S LAMBASTED MIYAZAWA AND PM MIKI AS WELL, OPENLY QUESTIONING THEIR FIDELITY TO '72 COMMUNIQUE. ALTHOUGH LIAL DID NOT ATTACK RESTORATION OF THE AIRLINK ITSELF, HE SCORNFULLY ASKED IF JAPAN WAS TRYING TO SETTLE THE PEACE TREATY WITH PEKING AND RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN IN ONE PACKAGE. "COULD JAPAN-CHINA RELATIONS NOT BE AFFECTED?" HE ASKED, AND WHICH COUNTRY DOES MIYAZAWA THINK THE SUN-IN-BLUE-SKY FLAG REPRESENTS?"

4. GOJ IS CLEARLY ON DEFENSIVE WITH PEKING IN INITIAL STATEMENT TO PRESS. MIYAZAWA SAID SIMPLY THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS PRIVATE AND WAS CARRIED OUT IN SPIRIT OF '72 COMMUNIQUE. CHINA DIVDIR FUJITA DINED WITH PRC OFFICIALS, NOT WITHOUT SOME TREPIDATION, JULY 8 EVENING AFTER AGREEMENT FIRST WAS PUBLICIZED. HE CONTENDED THAT AGREEMENT WAS PRIVATE AND IN NO WAY VIOLATED '72 COMMUNIQUE. HE SAID HE REMINDED THEM THAT PM MIKI, IN HIS INITIAL PRESS CONFERENCE PUBLICIZED PRIORITIES, MENTIONED FIRST HIS DESIRE TO RESTORE THE AIRLINK WITH TAIWAN AND THEN REITERATED IMMEDIATELY COMMITMENTS TO PEKING AND THE '72 COMMUNIQUE. CHINESE LISTENED TO FUJITA'S EXPLANATION COMMENTING ONLY THAT IF MIYAZAWA DIET STATEMENT ACCURATELY PRINTED IN PRESS, CONFIDENTIAL

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IT CONSTITUTED AN INFRINGEMENT OF 1972 COMMUNIQUE.

5. AT FOREIGN PRESS CLUB LUNCH (ATTENDED BY EMBOFFS) JULY 10. WHERE MIYAZAWA WAS GUEST SPEAKER, HE STATED, "RESUMPTION OF FLIGHTS IS PRIVATE. GOJ POLICY IS CONSISTENT. WE HAVE SEVERED DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH TAIPEI, DO NOT REGARD TAIWAN AS A NATION OR TAIPEI AS A GOVERNMENT AND CANNOT RECOGNIZE ITS FLAG AS THAT OF A NATION." MIYAZAWA CONTINUED SAYING THAT TRADE AND PERSONNEL ARE CARRIED OUT ON PRIVATE BASIS WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF '72 COMMUNIQUE. HE CONCLUDED THAT PROPOSED RESUMPTION OF AIR TIE COULD AND SHOULD NOT STAND IN WAY OF PEACE TREATY WITH PEKING.

6. AT ANOTHER POINT HE ADDRESSED LIAO CHENG-CHIH'S STATEMENT. HE DECLINED TO COMMENT UNTIL CONTENTS OF STATEMENT WERE FULLY KNOWN, BUT ADDED THAT IF REMARKS WERE AS REPORTED, "GENTLEMAN WHO MADE THEM" SHOULD READ TRANSCRIPTS OF STATEMENTS IN DIET OF PAST SIX MONTHS AND HE WOULD KNOW GOJ POLICY AND UNDERSTAND GOJ POLICIES BETTER.

7. COMMENT: GOJ BELIEVES THAT TECHNICALLY IT HAS NOT VIOLATED '72 AGREEMENT OR OHIRA'S STATEMENT LAST YEAR. NEVERTHELESS, FOREIGN OFFICE SOURCES WONDER PRIVATELY WHETHER VIOLATION OF SPIRIT OF COMMUNIQUE HAS NOT OCCURRED. IMPORTANT THING IS HOW PEKING CHOOSES TO REACT OFFICIALLY. OFFICIALS HOPE LIAO'S BLAST WILL PROVE TO BE TRANSIENT PRC ATTITUDE FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION AND THAT RESTORATION OF LINK AND MIYAZAWA'S STATEMENT ON JUNE 10 AND JULY 1 IN DIET WILL NOT BASICALLY HARM PROCESS OF IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS WITH PEKING. WITH PRO-TAIWAN RIGHT WING TEMPORARILY PLACATED, MIKI IS LIKELY TO PURSUE PEACE TREATY WITH PRC WITH EVEN GREATER FERVER, PROVIDED PEKING'S DISPLEASURE TURNS OUT TO BE SHORT-LIVED. WE KNOW HE IS CONTEMPLATING SENDING A HIGH LEVEL ENVOY, PERHAPS MIYAZAWA, TO PEKING AFTER HIS VISIT TO US TO TRY AND ACHIEVE BREAKTHROUGH.  
HODGSON

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 26 AUG 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AVIATION AGREEMENTS, AIR ROUTES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 10 JUL 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975TOKYO09285  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** D750239-0073  
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**Office:** ACTION EB  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 10 JUL 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <10 JUL 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <13 NOV 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** n/a  
**TAGS:** PFOR, ETRN, TW, CH, JA  
**To:** STATE INFO HONG KONG  
PEKING  
TAIPEI  
CINCPAC HONOLUL HI  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006

